Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6323

CONFIDENTIAL BUCHAREST 0376

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1 TAGS: PFOR, RO, AO

SUBJECT: ROMANIAN VIEWS ON ANGOLA

REF: STATE 014143, BUCHAREST 045, 75 BUCHAREST 6136, 75 STATE 303610

- 1. AS FOLLOWUP TO AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH DEPUTY FONMIN PACOSTE ON ANGOLA (BUCHAREST 045), POLITICAL COUNSELOR SAW MFA (DIRECTORATE II) COUNSELOR ALEXANDRU TUJON JANUARY 21 AGAIN TO CONVEY U.S. HOPE THAT ROMANIA COULD POSTPONE ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE IN ANGOLA. TUJON SAID ROMANIA HAD NO DIPLOMATIC STAFF IN LUANDA AT PRESENT (CONTRARY TO ASSERTION OF ROMANIAN WASHDC EMB'S DINDELEGAN, AF/C MEMCON JANUARY 6). GOR STILL HAD PROBLEM "UNDER STUDY" AND HAD NO TIMETABLE FOR CARRYING OUT PREVIOUS AGREEMENT WITH MPLA GOVERNMENT TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. HOWEVER, GOR FELT HANDICAPPED WITHOUT A LUANDA EMBASSY AND ITS GENERAL POLICY, AS WITH ISRAEL-ARAB PROBLEM, WAS TO TRY TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH VARIOUS SIDES IN ORDER TO HAVE SOME MODERATING INFLUENCE.
- 2. TUJON, VERY WELL BRIEFED ON LATEST DETAILS OF SITUATION (STATE 014143), EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT ANGOLA WAS TRANSCENDING STRICTLY AFRICAN SPHERE AND BECOMING THREAT TO DETENTE. HE HAD NO TROUBLE ADMITTING CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA (UNLIKE PACOSTE ON JANUARY 5), NOTING THAT CUBA'S INVOLVEMENT WITH MPLA DATED BACK EVEN TO MISSION BY LATE CHE GUEVARA CONFIDENTIAL

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AMONG MPLA GUERILLAS AND BEFORE. HE STRESSED GOR'S DESIRE

THAT "ALL"FOREIGN FORCES EXIT ANGOLA AND THAT ANGOLAN PEOPLE BE LEFT ALONE TO RESOLVE SITUATION. HE AGREED WITH EMBOFF THAT RESTRAINT BY "ALL" GREAT POWERS WAS VITAL PART OF ANGOLAN AND DETENTE ISSUES. GOR WAS OPPOSED TO "ALL" FORMS OF INTERFERENCE BY OTHERS IN ANGOLA, INCLUDING AFRICAN STATES, AND FAVORED PEACEFUL POLITICAL SOLUTION.

- 3. HOWEVER, TUJON RATED CHANCES OF RECONCILIATION OF MPLA AND FNLA AS "NIL". HE HAD IMPRESSION FNLA NOW MOSTLY HAD TO OPERATE FROM ZAIRE. RECONCILIATION BETWEEN UNITA AND MPLA WAS "POSSIBLE", AT LEAST SOME "ELEMENTS" OF UNITA, AND BETWEEN MPLA AND "OTHER" FACTIONS UNNAMED. HE REPEATED KNOWN GOR POSITION RECOGNIZING ANGOLAN "STATE" PLUS MPLA-FORMED LUANDA GOVERNMENT (BUCHAREST 045 PARA 2). HE DUCKED CHANCE TO DENY FLATLY THAT GOR MIGHT PURSUE PREVIOUS ROMANIAN RECONCILIATION INITIATIVES AMONG FACTIONS BUT IMPLIED FAIRLY CLEARLY THAT RECOGNITION OF LUANDA REGIME HAD WRITTEN FINISH TO THIS FOR PRESENT.
- 4. TUJON, RECALLING GOR MEMBERSHIP IN UN SECURITY COUNCIL, WAS CURIOUS WHETHER USG HAD GIVEN ANY THOUGHT TO BRINGING A GOLAN

ISSUE INTO UN, ESPECIALLY SINCE OAU HAD SUFFERED SERIOUS REVERSE IN FAILING TO WORK OUT ANY KIND OF CONSENSUS OR DECISION. EMBOFF REPLIED HE HAD NOT HEARD THAT USG WAS ALL THAT MUCH INTERESTED IN UN INVOLVEMENT; EMBOFF DREW ON POSITION OF MODERATE AFRICAN 22 (STATE 014143, PARA 7) AND URGED GOR TO IMPRESS ITS VIEWS FAVORING WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES AND PEACEFUL PATH ON ALL AFRICAN STATES.

- 5. TUJON SAID MIRCEA BEC (75 BUCHAREST 6136) HANDLES ENGLISH-SPEAKING AFRICA IN MFA'S DIRECTORATE II AND THUS WAS AT PRESENT LESS INVOLVED THAN HE IN ANGOLAN MATTERS.
- 6. SOMEWHAT FRANKER GOR VIEW OF ANGOLA CAME JANUARY 20 FROM RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE STAFFER (FOREIGN AFFAIRS SECTION) WHO TOLD POLITICAL COUNSELOR SOVIET PRESSURE WAS VERY MUCH FACTOR IN WAY GOR IS PLAYING ANGOLA GAME. ANGOLA WAS "FAR AWAY" AND ROMANIA CANNOT "OPPOSE SOVIETS IN EVERYTHIFA". HE IMPLIED GOR WAS IN RATHER PASSIVE MODE AT PRESENT BUT, RECALLING PREVIOUS CONFIDENTIAL

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RCP CONTACTS WITH FNLA AND UNITA, THOUGHT ROMANIA MIGHT PLAY RECONCILIATION ROLE AT SOME POINT IF ASKED. HE DID NOT DENY CUBAN MILITARY PRESENCE, NOTING CASTRO'S ATTENTION TO AFRO-CUBAN ETHNICITY AND CASTRO'S PUBLIC AVOWAL OF HIS ANGOLAN INVOLVEMENT. LIKE TUJON (ABOVE), HE STRESSED CEAUSESCU'S DECEMBER 18 CALL FOR "ALL" FOREIGN FORCES TO QUIT ANGOLA, ESPECIALLY SOUTH AFRICANS, BUT ADDED THAT HE HOPED USG UNDERSTOOD IT WAS COMPLETELY UNREALISTIC TO THINK ROMANIA COULD OPENLY CALL FOR CUBAN OR SOVIET

WITHDRAWAL OR DEVIATE MUCH FROM CURRENT STAND. BARNES	
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